





Rev. Amos A. Linn

## MARYLAND COLONIZATION JOURNAL.

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“Nothing is more clearly written in the Book of Destiny, than the Emancipation of the Blacks; and it is equally certain that the two races will never live in a state of equal freedom under the same government, so insurmountable are the barriers which nature, habit and opinion have established between them.”

JEFFERSON.

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### THE COLONIZATION SOCIETY IN GOOD COMPANY.

WE notice in all the resolutions introduced into the state legislature at its present session, for withdrawing or misappropriating the colonization fund, that it is linked with the abolition of all appropriations to colleges and academies. This is in good taste, and as it should be. If the moral improvement or the amelioration of the condition of the debased and suffering portion of the community is to be given up and abandoned, then it is fit that the mental and intellectual improvement of the other classes should likewise be entirely dispensed with. The enlightened mind is always powerfully affected in contemplating the vice and ignorance of debased humanity, and it must be considered sound policy if no measures are to be taken to remove the evil, we should, if possible, be rendered insensible to its existence.

Certainly, this is the nineteenth century—the age of improvement—of the march of mind—when seminaries of learning are to be abandoned, and all measures for elevating the oppressed and trodden down are to be given up; and this, too, on the score of retrenchment and economy. After all, pray what would be the *per capita* tax for the support of this colonization scheme of which so much has been said in our state legislature every year, supposing an equal portion be paid by every voter in the state?—why about 15 cents each per annum. Now for 15 cents each per annum, the independent voters of this state have founded a colony in another hemisphere, and furnished free egress and a good home to that portion of our population which never can be permitted to have a home in this land, or enjoy freedom under this government.

How can it be possible that to save this pitiful sum to himself or any one of his constituents, a Maryland legislator would vote to abandon this colony, and shut up the only channel through which good can flow to that class of our population which he does not—cannot call citizens!

*To the Editor of the Colonization Journal:*

Sir,—I find that there is an opinion afloat among the coloured people in this city and state, that the Colonization Society intends to make the colonists repay back to them all the expenses of founding the colony of Maryland in Liberia as soon as they get able. When this ground has been taken in my presence, I have taken the liberty flatly to contradict it. Please give information through your Journal if I have erred in this matter, and if I have, I will desist—if I have not, it will save much useless disputation.

Very respectfully, yours,

GARRISON DRAPER.

BALTIMORE, Dec. 28th, 1844.

Inasmuch as we have promised our friend Draper [and tendered the same to any other coloured man who may desire] as much room in our Journal as he can fill up, pertinent to the subject of colonization, we cannot forbear answering the above interrogatory, but at the same time have little hope of putting that or any other question to rest which has been mooted by the wiseacres of our city, or sown among them by the northern abolitionists, through their special agents resident here.

We can assure our correspondent that the opinion to which he refers, is not entertained by a single coloured man in this city who is sufficiently well informed to read and write, however instrumental they may be in spreading it among the more ignorant. It is one of the many stale devices of the enemies, not only of colonization, but of the whole African race, gotten up to alarm the more cautious and timid. Those who are able to read, and have taken the least trouble to examine into the matter, will find that the Board of Managers of the Maryland State Colonization Society have had this very matter under consideration and published to the world their action thereupon, even before the purchase of the territory or the founding of the colony. The following is a copy of their legislation on this point, a copy of which, with the Constitution or Bill of Rights of the colony, is furnished to every emigrant for his consideration previous to his taking the oath of allegiance.

SEC. 42. *And whereas*, Although circumstances require, that the government of the said territory should remain in the state society for the present, yet the time is looked forward to, when the people shall assume the government to themselves exclusively; and as it is the desire of the state society, to prepare them for that period, in such a manner, as will best guaranty their prosperity, as an independent people; and whereas it is proper, that the course contemplated by the state society should be clearly explained in the beginning, for the satisfaction of those who may abandon their present country, for Africa, the country of their fathers, therefore,

*Be it enacted and ordained*, That, so soon as there shall be five thousand male inhabitants in the territory, governed by the state society, in Africa, upon giving proof thereof to the agent, they shall receive authority, with time and place appointed, to elect representatives to represent them in a general assembly; provided, that for every five hundred male inhabitants there shall be one representative, and so on progressively, with the number of male inhabitants, shall the right of representation increase, until the number of representatives shall amount to twenty-five, after which, the number and proportion of representatives shall be regulated by the assembly itself: *provided*, that no person shall be eligible to be elected as a representative,



unless he has resided three years in Maryland in Liberia, and shall hold real estate in the territory, in his absolute possession; nor shall any person vote for a representative, who is not qualified, as prescribed for voters for the offices herein before enumerated.

The representatives, thus elected, shall serve for the term of one year, and in case of the death of a representative, or his removal from office, the agent shall cause a new election to be held by his constituents, for a member in his stead, to serve the residue of the term.

The general assembly or legislature, shall consist of the agent, legislative council, and house of representatives. The legislative council shall consist of five members, to continue in office three years, any three of whom to be a quorum; and the members of the council shall be nominated and appointed in the following manner, to wit: As soon as representatives shall be elected, the agent shall appoint a time and place for them to meet together, and when met, they shall nominate ten persons, not of their own body, having the qualifications of representatives, and return their names to the state society, five of whom the state society shall commission to serve as aforesaid; and whenever a vacancy shall occur in the council, by death, resignation, or removal from office, the house of representatives shall nominate two persons, qualified as aforesaid, for such vacancy, and return their names to the state society, one of whom the state society shall appoint and commission, for the residue of the term; and every three years, at least six months before the expiration of the time of service of the members of the council, the said house shall nominate the ten persons qualified as aforesaid, and return their names to the state society, five of whom the state society shall appoint and commission, to serve as members of the council three years unless sooner removed. And the agent, legislative council, and house of representatives shall have authority to make laws in all cases for the good government of the territory, not repugnant to the constitution of the territory, and the ordinances and decisions of the state society, until the government shall pass wholly into the hands of the people of Maryland in Liberia; and all bills passed by a majority in the house, and a majority in the council, shall be referred to the agent for his assent; but no bill or legislative act whatsoever, shall be in force without his assent. The agent shall have the power to convene, prorogue, and dissolve the general assembly, when in his opinion, it shall be expedient.

Besides this, there has been an ordinance passed by the Maryland Colonization Society declaring the colony absolutely free and independent; free from any claims of that society or any power whatever.

But supposing there had been no action whatever upon this subject, the case would still be the same. Each colonist holds his own land by a deed from the governor of the colony, and the sovereignty of the territory or ownership of the whole, is vested in the colonists as a people—a nation. Just ask your friends, when they again broach this subject, how they suppose the Board of Managers of the Maryland State Colonization Society will attempt to enforce repayment? Will they write out to them a civil letter asking them to pay back what they have advanced? In that case they will get a civil answer, referring them to the understanding or contract at the beginning. Will they then write a saucy, scolding letter? If so, they will probably get a saucy answer. Will they send out a constable, (that peculiar terror of coloured people here,) to bring the colonists all back? or will the Board of Managers get into a ship themselves, and go over to chastise several thou-

sand free people? No doubt the affair will appear ridiculous enough to them upon a little consideration.

You may tell your sceptical friends that tropical Africa is a broad, extended, fertile and rich country—that the Almighty decreed it as the BIRTH PLACE and the HOME of the black man, and secured it to him forever by immutable natural laws;—that in that land the white man has never been able to prevail against him or even to get a foothold for one generation; that all their opposition to the Colonization Society, all action of the society itself, of the United States Government and all other governments in the world, cannot change these natural laws, or wrest that continent from the possession and sovereignty of the sons of Ham.

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“A HISTORICAL EXAMINATION OF THE STATE OF SOCIETY IN WESTERN AFRICA, AND THE REMEDIAL INFLUENCE OF COLONIZATION AND MISSIONS.”

*(Continued from page 282.)*

The trade in slaves received a new impulse about this time, from the demand for them in the Spanish West Indies. They had been introduced into those colonies, at least as early as 1503; and the trade was encouraged by edicts, of Ferdinand V. in 1511, and of Charles V. in 1515. At the close of the century, this trade was immense. Portuguese residents bought the slaves of the natives, or procured them otherwise, and sold them to Spanish traders, who carried them to the West Indies,

The Protestants of England and Holland felt little respect for the Pope's grant of all Western Africa to Portugal; and even the French soon learned to disregard it.

The English took the lead. In 1551, and again in 1552, Thomas Windham visited the coast of Morocco. The Portuguese threatened him, that if found again in those seas, he and his crew should be treated as “mortal enemies.” Nothing daunted by these threats, he sailed again the next year. He took a Portuguese partner as a guide, and visited the whole coast from the river Sestos to Benin. In 1554, Capt. John Lok, with three ships, reached the coast at Cape Mesurado, sailed along it nearly or quite to Benin, and brought home “certain black slaves,” the first, so far as appears, ever brought to England. From this time voyages appear to have been made annually, and sometimes several in a year, always in armed ships, and attended with more or less fighting with the Portuguese, the natives, or both. In 1564, David Carlet attempted to trade with the negroes near Elmina. The negroes, hired and instructed by the Portuguese, first secured their confidence, and then betrayed Carlet, a merchant who accompanied him, and twelve of his crew, to the Portuguese, as prisoners. This mode of employing the negroes now became a common practice. In 1590, “about 42” Englishmen were taken or slain, and their goods seized by the Portuguese and negroes combined at Portudal and Joal, on the coast of the Jaloofs. Captains Rainolds and Dassel, who were there the next year, detected a similar conspiracy against themselves, said by the chief conspirator to be authorized by the king of Portugal. In 1588, the African Company was incorporated.

The French, we have seen, profess to have been the first traders to the coast of Guinea, and to have always retained their post at the Senegal. Rainolds found in 1591, that they had been there more than thirty years,

and were in good repute. The Spaniards, on the contrary, were detested; and as for the Portuguese, "most of them were banished men, or fugitives from justice; men of the basest behaviour that he and the rest of the English had ever seen of these nations."

In 1578, the French were trading at Accra, on the Gold Coast. The negroes in the vicinity, at the instigation of the Portuguese, destroyed the town. There was then a standing offer, from the Portuguese to the negroes, of 100 crowns for a Frenchman's head. In 1582, the Portuguese sunk a French ship, and made slaves of all the crew who escaped a watery grave.

There is no account of the Dutch, on this coast, till the voyage of Barent Erickson in 1595. The Portuguese offered to reward the negroes, if they would kill or betray him. They also offered a reward of 100 florins for the destruction of a Dutch ship. About the same time, a Dutch crew, with the exception of one or two men, was massacred at Cape Coast. Of another crew, three Dutchmen were betrayed by the negroes, and made slaves by the Portuguese at Elmina. In 1599, the negroes near Elmina, at the instigation of the Portuguese, inveigled five Dutchmen into their power, beheaded them, and in a few hours made drinking cups of their skulls.

But the English and Dutch continued to crowd in, and the Portuguese, who, after such atrocities, could not co-exist with them on the same coast, were compelled to retire. In 1604, they were driven from all their factories in what is now Liberia. Instead of leaving the country, however, they retreated inland, established themselves there, intermarried with the natives, and engaged in commerce between the more inland tribes and the traders on the coast; making it a special object to prevent the produce of the interior from reaching the coast, except through their hands; and for this purpose, they obstructed all efforts of others to explore the country. They traded with the people on the Niger; and one of their mulatto descendants told Villault, in 1666, that they traded along that river as far as Benin.\* Their posterity gradually became merged and lost among the negro population; but the obstruction of intercourse with the interior became the settled policy of those tribes, and has done much to retard the growth of commerce in Liberia.

In other parts the Portuguese held possession some years longer. But the Dutch took their fort at Elmina in 1637, and that at Axim in 1642; after which they were soon expelled from the Gold and Ivory Coasts. Before 1666, they had given place to the Dutch at Cape Mount, and to the English at Sierra Leone. In 1621, the English were trading in the Gambia, and in 1664, built James Fort near its mouth. Here also the Portuguese retired inland and mingled with the natives. Not many years since, some of their descendants were still to be found.

The influence of the English, Dutch, and French on the character of the natives, was in some respects different from that of the Portuguese; but whether it was on the whole any better, is a question of some difficulty. Portuguese writers assert that the Dutch gained the favour of the negroes by teaching them drunkenness and other vices; that they became absolute pirates, and seized and held several places on the coast, to which they had no right but that of the strongest.

The Dutch trade was, by law, exclusively in the hands of an incorporated company, having authority to seize and confiscate to its own use, the vessels and cargoes of private traders found on the coast. These private

\* As the Niger was then supposed by Europeans to flow westward and disembogue itself by the Senegal or Gambia, this statement was considered absurd; but since the discovery of the mouth of the Niger in Benin, there is reason to suppose it true. It ought to have led to an earlier discovery of the true course and outlet of that long mysterious river.



traders, or interlopers, as they were called, were frequently seized by stratagem by the Dutch garrisons on the coast, and treated with great severity. But they provided themselves with fast sailing ships, went well armed and manned, and generally fought to the last man, rather than be taken by the Company's forces. Capt. Phillips, in 1693, found more than a dozen of these interlopers on the coast, and had seen four or five of them at a time lying before Elmina castle for a week together, trading, as it were, in defiance of it.

The English had also their incorporated company, and their private traders. Of the character of the latter, we find no specification which dates in this century. In 1721, there were about thirty of them settled on the "starboard side" of the bay of Sierra Leone. Atkins describes them as "loose, privateering blades, who, if they cannot trade fairly with the natives, will rob. Of these," he says, "John Leadstine, commonly called 'Old Cracker,' is reckoned the most thriving." This man, called Leadstone in Johnson's "History of the Pirates," had been an old buccanier, and kept two or three guns before his door, "to salute his friends the pirates when they put in there." Such, substantially, appears to have been the character of the English "private traders" upon this coast from the beginning. Of the regular traders, English and Dutch, a part, and only a part, seem to have been comparatively decent.

The influence of the Pirates on this coast deserves a distinct consideration.

They appeared there occasionally, as early as the year 1600, and seem to have increased with the increase of commerce. For some years the piratically disposed appear to have found scope for the indulgence of their propensities among the buccaniers of the West Indies. But after the partial breaking up of the buccaniers in 1688, and still more after their suppression in 1697, they spread themselves over the whole extent of the Atlantic and Indian Oceans. The coast of Guinea was one of their principal haunts, and Sierra Leone a favourite resort. They not only plundered at sea, but boldly entered any port where the people, whether native or European, were not strong enough to resist them, and traded there on their own terms. In 1693, Phillips found that the governor of Porto Praya made it a rule never to go on board any ship in the harbour, lest it should prove to be a pirate, and he should be detained till he had furnished a supply of provisions, for which he would be paid by a bill of exchange on some imaginary person in London. Avery, commonly known as "Long Ben," had thus extorted supplies from the governor of St. Thomas, and paid him by a bill on "the pump at Aldgate." At Cape Mesurado, Phillips found a Scotchman, of the crew of Herbert the pirate. The crew had quarrelled, all the rest were killed or afterwards died of their wounds, he ran the brigantine ashore near the Cape, and had since been living among the natives. Capt. Snelgrave arrived at Sierra Leone, April 1, 1719. He found three pirates in the harbour; Cocklyn, Le Bouse and Davis. They had lately taken ten English vessels. His first mate, Jones, betrayed him into their hands. He had with him a royal proclamation, offering pardon to all English pirates who should surrender themselves on or before the first of July. An old buccanier tore it in pieces. They took Snelgrave's vessel for their own use, leaving an inferior one for him, and left the bay about the 29th of the month. Afterwards, he tells us, that more than a hundred vessels fell into the hands of these pirates on the coast of Guinea, and some of the gang did immense damage in the West Indies. A few days after sailing, Davis took the Princess, of London, plundered her and let her go; but her second mate, Roberts, joined him. He landed at Prince's Island, where the Portuguese



governor at first favoured them, for the sake of their trade, but finally assassinated Davis. The crew then chose Roberts for their captain, whose exploits were still more atrocious.

The same year, England, the pirate, took an English vessel near Sierra Leone, murdered the captain, Skinner, and gave her to Howell Harris, who, after trial and acquittal, obtained command of a merchant sloop, and turned pirate. Having had "pretty good success" for a while, he attacked St. Jago, in the Cape Verde Islands, but was repulsed. He then took, plundered and destroyed the English fort St. James at the mouth of the Gambia. The fort appears to have been partially rebuilt immediately. In 1721, the African Company sent out the Gambra Castle, Capt. Russel, with a company of soldiers under Maj. Massey, to strengthen it. The new governor, Whitney, had just arrived. Massey, with the assistance of Lowther, second mate, seized both the fort and the ship; and after cruising a while as a pirate, went home, brought on his own trial, and was hanged.

In 1721, Roberts, before mentioned, had become so formidable as to attract the notice of the English government. Two ships of 50 guns each were sent out to capture him. Atkins, surgeon of the squadron, has given an account of the cruise. At Elmina, in January, they found that Roberts had "made a bold sweep" in August, had taken a vessel a few leagues from that place, and had "committed great cruelties." His three ships were well manned, "seaman every where entering with them; and when they refused, it was oftener through fear, than any detestation of the practice." This shows what was then the general character of English seamen in that region, and what influence they must have exerted on the natives. January 15, they reached Whidah. The pirates had just plundered and ransomed eleven ships, and been gone twenty-four hours. They followed on to the south, and by the 12th of February, took all three of their ships; the crew of the last having abandoned it and fled. They found on board about 300 Englishmen, 60 or 70 stout negroes, great plenty of trade goods, and eight or ten thousand pounds of gold dust. The trial of these pirates occupied the court at Cape Coast Castle twenty-six days; 52 were executed there, 74 acquitted, 20 condemned to servitude, and 17 sent to the Marshalsea.

The next year, Capt. George Roberts was taken by three pirates, of whom Edmund Loe was the chief, at the Cape Verde Islands. While there, after Loe had gone, he fell in with Charles Franklin,\* who had been taken some time before by Bartholomew Roberts, a pirate, had escaped from him at Sierra Leone, and taken refuge among the negroes in the interior.

The pirates seem generally to have been content with trading at Sierra Leone, without plundering the people; though Roberts took the place in 1720. They afterwards took permanent possession of the first bay below the Cape, and occupied it for seven years or more, till broken up by an expedition from France in 1730. Hence the place was called "Pirate's Bay," and was so named on British charts.

\*This case is mentioned chiefly for the sake of introducing a note,—Franklin says that "these inlanders have a notion that the Bakkaras [whites] have a new world, where they intend to reside, which is inconceivably better than the old; but that there wants so much to be done to it, that it will be many ages before it can be made fit for their reception; that they send all the most valuable things from their old world thither, the labor of which is carried on by the negroes they yearly take out of Guinea; that all those blacks must work and slave very hard, without any intermission or redemption, until the new world is completely fitted up in a very beautiful manner, and the Bakkaras are all settled there. But when that is done, having no farther service for the blacks, they will send them home to inhabit this world, without ever being molested more by the whites, who will never come here again. This happy time they earnestly wish for."

Such was Franklin's statement to Roberts in 1722, published in London in 1726, and now transcribed from a copy printed in 1745. Is not Bakkarau about ready to spare them?

The moral influence of such a concentration of piracy upon the coast for nearly half a century, cannot be doubtful. The character of pirates, we know, has always been made up of remorseless ferocity, unscrupulous rapacity, and unbridled licentiousness. Perfectly versed in all the vices of civilization, restrained by no moral principle, by no feeling of humanity, by no sense of shame, they landed whenever and almost wherever they pleased upon the whole coast, with forces which it would have been madness to resist, and compelled the inhabitants, whether negro, European, or mixed, to become the partners of their revels, the accomplices or dupes of their duplicity, or the victims of their violence. This, added to all the other malign influences at work upon the coast, gave such an education in evil, as probably was never inflicted on any other portion of the human race. A few statements of contemporary writers may place this matter in a still clearer light. We will confine our remarks to what is now Liberia and its vicinity, where this tempest of evil seems to have fallen with special fury.

Even in the days of Portuguese ascendancy, the Mesurado river was called the Rio Duro, on account of the cruelty of the people.

Dapper, a Dutch writer, whose Description of Africa was published about the year 1670, says of the Quojas, who were predominant from Sierra Leone to the Rio Sestos, that both sexes were extremely licentious, they were great thieves, and much addicted to witchcraft, in practising which they used real poisons. On the death of a chief, it was their practice to strangle one or two female slaves, to bury with him. From the Sestos to Cape Palmas, the people were much the same, but still more adroit at theft, and more addicted to witchcraft and devil-worship.

Barbot, Agent General of the French African Company, was on the coast much of the time from 1680 to 1701. He says that the English had formerly a settlement at Sangwin, but abandoned it, because of the ill temper of the blacks. At Bottowa, they are dexterous thieves, and ought to be well looked to in dealing with them.

Phillips,\* in 1693, at Grand Sesters, thought it unsafe to go up the river eight miles to visit king Peter, hearing that the natives were very treacherous and bloody. The people whom he saw were surly, and looked like villains. Though his ship carried 36 guns, on learning the temper of the people, he immediately cleared for action and left the river.

Snoek was at Cape Mesurado in 1701. Only one negro came on board, and he saw but a few on shore. Two English ships had two months before ravaged their country, destroyed their canoes, plundered their houses, and carried off some of their people.

Bosman was on the coast about the same time. His description of Guinea, written in Dutch and translated into several languages, is one of the best extant. "The negroes," he says, "are all, without exception, crafty,

\* Phillips sailed in the employment of the English African Company, and was evidently one of the most humane, conscientious, and intelligent voyagers to that coast. He found the people of the Quaqua coast, a little beyond Cape Palmas, to be cannibals, as most who visited them also testify. At Sacondée, Johnson, the English factor, had been surprised in the night, cut in pieces, and his goods plundered by the negroes, at the instigation of the Dutch. At Whidah, Phillips bought for his two ships, 1,300 slaves. Twelve of them wilfully drowned themselves, and others starved themselves to death. He was advised to cut off the legs and arms of a few, to terrify the rest, as other captains had done; but he could not think of treating with such barbarity, poor creatures, who being equally the work of God's hands, are doubtless as dear to him as the whites. He saw the bodies of several eaten by the sharks which followed the ship. On arriving at Barbadoes, the ship under his immediate command had lost "14 men and 320 negroes." On each dead negro, the African Company lost £10, and the ship lost the freight, £10 10s. He delivered alive 372, who sold, on an average, at about £19. Such was the slave trade, in its least horrible aspect, in 1693.

villainous and fraudulent, and very seldom to be trusted ; being sure to slip no opportunity of cheating a European, nor indeed one another." The mulattoes, he says, are "a parcel of profligate villains, neither true to the negroes nor us ; nor indeed dare they trust one another ; so that you rarely see them agree together. Whatever is in its own nature worst in the Europeans and negroes, is united in them." At some place, probably beyond Cape Palmas, he saw eleven human sacrifices at one funeral.

Marchais was at Cape Mesurado in 1724. He says that the English, Dutch and Portuguese writers all unite in representing the natives there as faithless, cunning, revengeful and cruel to the last degree ; and he assents to the description. He adds, that "formerly they offered human sacrifices ; but this custom has ceased since they found the profit of selling their prisoners of war to foreigners." He gives a map of the Cape, and the plan of a proposed fort on its summit ; and thinks it might yield 1,500 or 2,000 slaves annually, besides a large amount of ivory.

At the river Sestos, Marchais witnessed a negro funeral. "The captain or chief of a village dying of a hard drinking bout of brandy, the cries of his wives immediately spread the news through the town. All the women ran there and howled like furies. The favourite wife distinguished herself by her grief, and not without cause." She was watched by the other women, to prevent her escape. The marbut, or priest, examined the body, and pronounced the death natural—not the effect of witchcraft. Then followed washing the body, and carrying it in procession through the village, with tearing of the hair, howling, and other frantic expressions of grief. "During this, the marbut made a grave, deep and large enough to hold two bodies. He also stripped and skinned a goat. The pluck served to make a ragout, of which he and the assistants ate. He also caused the favourite wife to eat some ; who had no great inclination to taste it, knowing it was to be her last. She ate some, however ; and during this repast, the body of the goat was divided in small pieces, broiled and eaten. The lamentations began again ; and when the marbut thought it was time to end the ceremony, he took the favourite wife by the arms, and delivered her to two stout negroes. These, seizing her roughly, tied her hands and feet behind her, and laying her on her back, placed a piece of wood on her breast. Then, holding each other with their hands on their shoulders, they stamped with their feet on the piece of wood, till they had broken the woman's breast. Having thus at least half despatched her, they threw her into the grave, with the remainder of the goat, casting her husband's body over her, and filling up the grave with earth and stones. Immediately, the cries ceasing, a quick silence succeeded the noise, and every one retired home as quietly as if nothing had happened.

Smith was sent out by the African Company to survey the coast, in 1726. At Gallinas, in December, he found Benjamin Cross, whom the natives had seized and kept three months, in reprisal for some of their people, who had been seized by the English. Such seizures, he says, were too often practiced by Bristol and Liverpool ships. Cross was ransomed for about £50. At Cape Mount, he found the natives cautious of intercourse, for fear of being seized. At Cape Mesurado, in January, 1727, he saw many of the natives, but not liking to venture on shore, had no discourse with them.

In 1730, Snelgrave, who had been captured by pirates nine years before, was again on the coast. There was then not a single European factory on the whole Windward Coast, and Europeans were "shy of trusting themselves on shore, the natives being very barbarous and uncivilized." He never met a white man who durst venture himself up the country. He



mentions the suspicions and revengeful feelings of the natives, occasioned by seizing them for slaves, as a cause of the danger. He, too, witnessed human sacrifices.

Such was the character of what is now Liberia, after 268 years of intercourse with slave traders and pirates.

Meanwhile, nations were treating with each other for the extension of the slave trade. The Genoese at first had the privilege of furnishing the Spanish Colonies with negro slaves. The French next obtained it, and kept it till, according to Spanish official returns, it had yielded them \$204,000,000. In 1713, the British government, by the famous Assiento treaty, secured it for the South Sea Company for thirty years. In 1739, Spain was desirous to take the business into her own hands, and England sold out the remaining four years for £100,000, to be paid in London in three months.\*

From this time to 1791, when the British Parliament began to collect testimony concerning the slave trade, there seems to have been no important change in the influences operating on the coast, or in the character of its inhabitants. The collection and publication of testimony was continued till the passage, in 1807, of the act abolishing the trade. From this testimony, it appeared that nearly all the masters of English ships engaged in that trade, were of the most abandoned character, none too good to be pirates. Their cruelty to their own men was so excessive and so notorious, that crews could never be obtained without great difficulty, and seldom without fraud. Exciting the native tribes to make war on each other for the purpose of obtaining slaves, was a common practice. The Windward Coast, especially, was fast becoming depopulated. The Bassa country, and that on the Mesurado and Junk rivers, were particularly mentioned, as regions which had suffered in these wars; where the witnesses had seen the ruins of villages, lately surprised and burned in the night, and rice fields unharvested, because their owners had been seized and sold. On other parts of the coast, the slaves were collected and kept for embarkation in factories; but on the Windward Coast, "every tree was a factory;" and when the negroes had any thing to sell, they signified it by kindling a fire. Here, also, was the principal scene of "panyaring;" that is, of enticing a negro into a canoe, or other defenceless situation, and then seizing him. The extent of this practice may be inferred from the fact, that it had a name, by which it was universally known. A negro was hired to panyar a fine girl, whom an English captain desired to possess. A few days after, he was panyared himself, and sold to the same captain. "What!" he exclaimed,—“buy me, a great trader?” “Yes,” was the reply,—“we will buy any of you, if any body will sell you.” It was given in evidence, that business could not be transacted, if the buyer were to inquire into the title of those from whom he bought. Piracy, too, added its horrors whenever the state of the world permitted, and, as we shall have occasion to show, was rampant when Liberia was founded.

Factories, however, were gradually re-established and fortified; but not till the slave trade had nearly depopulated the coast, and thus diminished the danger. Two British subjects, Bostock and McQuinn, had one at Cape Mesurado. In June, 1813, His Majesty's ship *Thais* sent forty men on shore, who, after a battle in which one of their number was killed, entered the factory and captured its owners. French, and especially Spanish factories had become numerous.

\*Rees' Cyclopaedia, Art. Assiento. The statement may be slightly inaccurate. The treaty, or "convention" with Spain in 1739, stipulated for the payment of £95,000, and the settlement of certain other claims, the amount of which was still to be ascertained.



A large proportion, both of the slave ships and factories, were piratical. By the laws of several nations, the trade was prohibited, and ships engaged in it liable to capture. They therefore prepared to defend themselves. The general peace which followed the downfall of Napoleon, left many privateers and their crews out of employment, and they engaged at once in piracy and the slave trade. In 1818, Lord Castlereagh communicated to the ambassadors of the leading powers of Europe, a list of eighteen armed slavers lately on the coast, of five vessels taken and destroyed by them, and of several battles with others; and these were mentioned only as specimens.

The natives, notwithstanding the evils which the slave trade inflicted upon them, were infatuated with it. In 1821, the agents of the Colonization Society attempted to purchase a tract for their first settlement at Grand Bassa. The only obstacle was, the refusal of the people to make any concession towards an abandonment of that traffic. In December of that year, a contract with that indispensable condition was made for Cape Mesurado. The first colonists took possession, January 7, 1822. In November of the same year, and again in December, the natives attacked the Colony in great numbers, and with an obstinate determination to exterminate the settlers and renew the trade at that accustomed spot. In April and May, 1823, Mr. Ashmun, governor of the Colony, went on business along the coast about 150 miles, to Setra Kroo. "One century ago," he remarks, "a great part of this line of coast was populous, cleared of trees, and under cultivation. It is now covered with a dense and almost continuous forest. This is almost wholly a second growth; commonly distinguished from the original by the profusion of brambles and brushwood, which abounds amongst the larger trees, and renders the woods entirely impervious, even to the natives, until paths are opened by the bill-hook."

In May, 1825, Mr. Ashmun purchased for the colony a fine tract on the St. Paul's. Of this he says: "Along this beautiful river were formerly scattered, in Africa's better days, innumerable native hamlets; and till within the last twenty years, nearly the whole river board, for one or two miles back, was under that slight culture which obtains among the natives of this country. But the population has been wasted by the rage for trading in slaves, with which the constant presence of slaving vessels and the introduction of foreign luxuries have inspired them. The south bank of this river, and all the intervening country between it and the Mesurado, have been from this cause nearly desolated of inhabitants. A few detached and solitary plantations, scattered at long intervals through the tract, just serve to interrupt the silence and relieve the gloom which reigns over the whole region."

The moral desolation, he found to be still more complete. He writes:—"The two slaving stations of Cape Mount and Cape Mesurado have, for several ages, desolated of every thing valuable, the intervening very fertile and beautiful tract of country. The forests have remained untouched, all moral virtue has been extinguished in the people, and their industry annihilated, by this one ruinous cause." "Polygamy and domestic slavery, it is well known, are as universal as the scanty means of the people will permit. And a licentiousness of practice which none—not the worst part of any civilized community on earth—can parallel, gives a hellish consummation to the frightful deformity imparted by sin to the moral aspect of these tribes." "The emigrants, from the hour of their arrival in Africa, are acted upon by the vitiating example of the natives of this country. The amount and effects of this influence, I fear, are generally and egregiously underrated. It is not known to every one, how little difference can be perceived

in the measure of intellect possessed by an ignorant rustic from the United States, and a sprightly native of the coast. It may not be easily credited, but the fact certainly is, that the advantage is, oftenest, on the side of the latter. The sameness of colour, and the corresponding characteristics to be expected in different portions of the same race, give to the example of the natives a power and influence over the colonists, as extensive as it is corrupting. For it must not be suppressed, however the fact may be at variance with the first impressions from which most African journalists have allowed themselves to sketch the character of the natives, that it is vicious and contaminating in the last degree. I have often expressed my doubt, whether the simple idea of moral justice, as we conceive it from the early dawn of reason, has a place in the thoughts of a pagan African. As a principal of practical morality, I am sure that no such sentiment obtains in the breast of five Africans within my acquaintance. A selfishness which prostrates every consideration of another's good; a habit of dishonest dealing, of which nothing short of unceasing, untiring vigilance can avert the consequences; an unlimited indulgence of the appetites; and the laboured excitement\* and unbounded gratification of lust the most unbridled and beastly—these are the ingredients of the African character. And however revolting, however, on occasion, concealed by an assumed decency of demeanor, such is the common character of all."

This last extract was dated May 20, 1827, when Mr. Ashmun had been nearly five years in Africa, and in the most favourable circumstances for learning the truth.

And this horrid work was still going on. In August, 1823, Mr. Ashmun wrote:—"I wish to afford the Board a full view of our situation, and of the African character. The following incident I relate, not for its singularity, for similar events take place, perhaps, every month in the year; but because it has fallen under my own observation, and I can vouch for its authenticity. King Boatswain received a quantity of goods in trade from a French slaver, for which he stipulated to pay young slaves. He makes it a point of honour to be punctual to his engagements. The time was at hand when he expected the return of the slaver. He had not the slaves. Looking round on the peaceable tribes about him, for her victims, he singled out the Queahs, a small agricultural and trading people, of most inoffensive character. His warriors were skilfully distributed to the different hamlets, and making a simultaneous assault on the sleeping occupants, in the dead of night, accomplished, without difficulty or resistance, the annihilation, with the exception of a few towns, of the whole tribe. Every adult man and woman was murdered; very young children generally shared the fate of their parents; the boys and girls alone were reserved to pay the Frenchman."

King Boatswain was not such an untaught barbarian as some may suppose. He began life without hereditary rank, served in the British navy till he attained the rank of boatswain, and afterwards gradually rose among his own people by his superior intelligence and force of character. In September, 1824, he seized 86 more of the Queahs.

In August, 1825, the Clarida, a Spanish slaver connected with the factory at Digby, a little north of the St. Paul's, plundered an English brig at anchor in Monrovia harbour. Mr. Ashmun, with 22 volunteers, and the captain of the brig with about an equal force, broke up the factory, and released the slaves confined in it. A French and a Spanish factory, both

\* Of this, in respect to both sexes, we might have produced disgusting testimony, more than a century old, relating especially to this part of the coast. In this, as in other things, their character had evidently undergone no essential change.

within five miles of Monrovia, uniting their interests with the *Clarida*, were soon after broken up, and their slaves released. The French factory had kidnapped, or purchased of kidnappers, some of the colonists, and attempted to hold them as slaves.

In 1826, the *Minerva*, a Spanish slaver, connected with some or all of the three factories at Trade town, had committed piracy on several American and other vessels, and obtained possession of several of the colonists. At the suggestion of Mr. Ashmun, she was captured by the *Dragon*, a French brig of war, and condemned at Goree. The factories at Trade town bought eight of the colonists, who had been "panyared," and refused to deliver them up on demand. In April, Mr. Ashmun, assisted by two Columbian armed vessels, landed, broke up the factories, and released the slaves. The natives, under King West, then rose in defence of the slavers, and made it necessary to burn Trade town. The Colonial government then publicly prohibited the trade on the whole line of coast, over which it assumed a qualified jurisdiction, from Cape Mount to Trade town. In July, a combination to restore Trade town was formed by several piratical vessels and native chiefs. July 27, the brig *John*, of Portland, and schooner *Bona*, of Baltimore, at anchor in Monrovia harbour, were plundered by a piratical brig of twelve guns, which then proceeded to Gallinas and took in 600 slaves.

"The slave trade," Mr. Ashmun wrote about this time, "is the pretext under which expensive armaments are fitted out every week from Havana, and desperadoes enlisted for enterprises to this country; in which, on their arrival, the trade is either forgotten entirely, or attended to as a mere secondary object, well suited to conceal from cruisers they may fall in with, their real object. Scarcely an American trading vessel has for the last twelve months been on this coast, as low as six degrees north, without suffering either insult or plunder from these Spaniards."

The batteries for the protection of Monrovia harbour were immediately strengthened, the Trade town combination was of short continuance, and the growth of the colony soon changed the character, both of the coast and its visitors.

Would the non-resistance policy of William Penn have succeeded better? It has been tried. The Pennsylvania Colonization Society commenced an unarmed settlement at Bassa Cove, about the end of the year 1834. King Joe Harris sold them land to settle upon, and professed to be their cordial friend. In a few months, a slaver arrived. Harris had slaves for sale; but the slaver would not trade so near a settlement of Americans. This finished the temptation which Harris had already begun to feel. He fell upon the settlement in the dead of night, killed about twenty of the colonists, and while the remainder fled to save their lives, plundered their houses. A singular fact shows that he was not only fully and minutely acquainted with their peaceful character, but that he was encouraged by it to make the attack. One of the colonists owned a musket, and another sometimes borrowed it; so that Harris could not know in which of their houses it might then happen to be. He therefore refrained from attacking either of those houses.

Would purely missionary establishments be more secure? This also has been tried. The Methodist station at Heddington, on the south bank of the St. Pauls', about 20 miles from Monrovia, was of that character. Gattumba, king of those lately known here as Mendians, and whose strong hold was about two days' march north east from Monrovia, had in his employ, Goterah, a cannibal warrior from the interior, who, with his band of mercenary desperadoes, had desolated many native towns, and taken hosts



of slaves for his employer to sell. He was evidently a remnant of the Giagas. One night in 1841, he made an attack on Heddington. His threats to plunder the mission property, take the children in school for slaves, and eat the missionary, had been reported at Heddington, and arms had been procured for defence. After an obstinate contest, Goterah was shot, while rushing, sword in hand, into the mission house. His followers were soon seized with a panic, and fled. Among the camp equipage which they left, was a kettle, which Goterah had brought with him, to boil the missionary in for his breakfast.

The experiment was tried again. The Episcopal missionaries at Cape Palmas imagined that the peace and safety in which they had been able to live and labour for several years, were in no degree owing to colonial protection; and they resolved to act accordingly. They commenced a station at Half Cavally, about 13 miles east of the Cape, among the natives, but within the territory of the colony; another at Rockbokah, about 8 miles farther east, and beyond the limits of the colonial territory; and another at Taboo, some 17 miles beyond Rockbokah. In 1842, some of the natives near these last named stations seized the schooner *Mary Carver*, of Salem, murdered the captain and crew, and plundered the vessel. The perpetrators of this outrage soon became known to Mr. Minor, at Taboo, and Mr. Appleby, at Rockbokah. To guard against exposure and enrich themselves, the chiefs entered into a conspiracy to kill the missionaries and plunder their premises. The missionaries, being aware of the design, were on their guard, and its execution was deferred to a more convenient opportunity, and, as Mr. Appleby supposed, was at length abandoned. Meanwhile, Mr. Minor died. The natives within the colonial territory agreed to force the colonists to pay higher prices for provisions, and prepared for war. Early in December, 1843, Mr. Payne, at Half Cavally, finding himself surrounded by armed natives, from whom his life and the lives of his family were in danger, sent to Cape Palmas for rescue. When his messenger arrived, the United States squadron had just come in sight. A vessel was immediately sent for his relief. A force was landed, he and his family were escorted to the shore, taken on board and conveyed to Cape Palmas. On proceeding eastward, to punish the murderers of the crew of the *Mary Carver*, the squadron took off Mr. Appleby from his dangerous position at Rockbokah. The presence of the squadron soon induced the natives to make peace with the colony; but for several weeks it was supposed that the Cavally station could never be safely resumed. The school at Rockbokah is still continued, under a native teacher, and perhaps Mr. Appleby may yet return to it, as the natives think that his presence will be, in some degree, a pledge of peace.

We may then consider it as proved by facts of the plainest significancy, that up to the commencement of this present year, 1844, unarmed men, whether colonists or missionaries, white or black, native or immigrant, could not live safely in that part of the world without colonial protection.

*(To be continued.)*

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AFRICAN COLONIZATION.—The receipts of the American Colonization Society from the 22d October to 31st December, were \$10,159 08, including \$5,194 from profits of trade in the colony. The African Repository, for January, contains intelligence from the colony to the 1st of October. Its affairs continued prosperous. Commerce was reviving along the coast. The annual meeting of the society takes place at Washington on the 21st instant.



(From the Episcopal Recorder.)

## AFRICAN MISSIONS.

We had the pleasure of attending a missionary meeting last Monday evening at St. Paul's church, in which the necessities of poor degraded Africa were presented to the prayers and the sympathies of the congregation. The audience were addressed by the Rev. Mr. Hazlehurst, after a brief devotional service from the prayer-book, by the Rev. Mr. Clark, of St. Andrew's. This young missionary alluded, in the opening of his address, to the fact that about two years ago he had enjoyed the satisfaction of addressing a company of his brethren in that place; he being then on the eve of his departure for that distant and benighted land. Since then, he had visited it, and after having suffered in health from the insalubrity of the climate, he again appeared before them to tell what he had seen, and to plead once more the cause of injured Africa. Mr. H. gave an interesting account of the climate, soil, &c., of that great country, the past history and present state of our missions there, and the encouragements as well as the sorrows and trials which our labourers in that inviting and yet melancholy field, are called to experience. After mentioning several touching incidents, which illustrated the attachment that exists between the teachers and their poor benighted pupils, and which are certainly calculated to animate our brethren in their labours of benevolence on that dark coast, and relating in a simple, but graphic manner, one or two anecdotes illustrative of the superstition and fanaticism which prevail amongst the natives, he concluded by stating that the amount which could, in the present state of our funds, be appropriated to this undertaking, was only \$5,000, whereas the necessities of the work call for at least \$12,000. All that they desire, however, said he, is to know distinctly how much the church is willing to devote to this enterprize, and it will be their duty, however painful it might become, to curtail their efforts in proportion.

Bishop Meade followed Mr. H. in a train of remarks, which evidently attracted all who heard him. He had been long interested in the condition of the negro race. More than thirty-five years ago he had co-operated with some of the first movements that were made in their behalf in this country. He travelled a year at that time, for the purpose of collecting funds and forming societies which would aid in providing for such as had been emancipated in this country, and were desirous of removing to a christian home in their fatherland. His interest in this unhappy race had never flagged. A large portion of his ministerial labours had been devoted to their instruction, and he could assure the audience that there was no part of his work on which he looked back with more unmingled pleasure.

Bishop Meade was aware that the world is disposed to look upon an enterprize which calls for such a waste of human life, as the very romance of charity. Nay, cold-hearted professors of religion sometimes take the same false view. He admitted that our missionaries exposed themselves to disease and death. But has it not always been so? Was it not so when the foundations of christianity were first laid? Did the early church desist from the noble enterprize of a world's conversion, because the first preachers of the gospel were often called to lay down their lives in its behalf? On the contrary, is it not proverbially true, that the blood of the martyrs has ever been the seed of the church. Besides, said he, I am by no means sure that those who are called by the Holy Spirit to preach the Word of Life in Africa, will find themselves safer by remaining in America. Men die every where; and in all lands there is safety under the shadow of the Almighty's wing.

We do not pretend to offer our readers any thing like a full sketch of what was said by this venerable friend of Africa. He kept the audience listening to him with interest until a late hour in the evening.

Rev. Mr. Newton said he would make a few remarks, merely to occupy the attention of the audience while the Wardens were lifting the collection. He took up the subject just where his predecessor left it. A striking illustration of the truth with which the Bishop closed his remarks, had fallen under his own personal observation. An acquaintance of his had once felt himself called to preach the Gospel in Africa. At an early period of his preparatory studies, he dedicated himself to that cause. He was ordained with that work in view. His friends and family connections urged him to abandon it. He resisted their entreaties for some time, but at length yielded. He took a parochial charge in his native land. His relations had urged that he probably would not live two years in Africa. In less than that period they were called to lay him in his grave at home. As we returned from this interesting meeting, we could not but ponder with pleasure the work which our Church is doing in foreign lands; and the more we have reflected on the subject, the more we have been convinced that African Missions offer one amongst the most alluring fields of Christian beneficence. It is one to which American Christians seem to be particularly called. It is ever true that charity is twice blessed, for it is sure to leave a blessing with those in whose hearts it glows before it goes to scatter its benefits over those in whose favour it is exerted. But in these efforts in behalf of that benighted continent, it seems to be literally and in a peculiar sense, the fact. Besides the direct benefit which would accrue to our unfortunate fellow men on that side of the water, they will provide the blessing of a Christian home for such of that race as may be in a condition to seek it from this country. Not only two continents will thus reap important advantages from such missions, but they will also do much to suppress the slave trade. This detestable traffic cannot be put down by naval or military force. They may establish a fort on every promontory, and station a man-of-war on every mile of coast, but the slave trade will still live in Africa. Let the Missionary introduce Christianity, and Christianity become the parent of civilization, agriculture, and the mechanic arts, and the slave trade will die of itself. They will not sell a human being to a slave trader for a few dollars, when his labour shall become so much more valuable at home.

Some of those beloved brethren who go to kindle the fires of civilization on that dark shore may indeed fall a victim to its dangerous climate; but they die in the service of their Master. He will sustain them in the midst of the duties and dangers to which they may be called. His presence and favour will be to them a rich reward; and multitudes yet unborn shall rise up to call them blessed. And while they thus willingly give *themselves* to this cause, shall not their fellow Christians at home provide them with the means of effectually carrying on their work? We cannot consent to harbor for a moment the thought that Episcopalians will bid them go back and curtail their labours.

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#### TERMS.

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☞ All Communications intended for the Maryland Colonization Journal; or on business of the Society, should be addressed to DR. JAMES HALL, General Agent, Colonization Rooms, Post Office Building.



